1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tẽ'/tị; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patẽe (described on pp. 37–38).

[173] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dɔvị, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyaí'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos čú'nekị of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as [177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the tẽ'/tị, who exercised their main influence within the traditional 648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuixáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto daueru'kị of Igarapéxinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ɋvẽn|ᵉkị of Igarapé da Rita, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tẽ'/tị, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

411 *Weapons.*—War weapons are the bow, vɋra' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow, kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va:'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, naĉi'nẽ, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tụpe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by [727] canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

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of canoe warriors, they had a culture noticeably superior to that of the Tukuna, who in many ways were influenced by them. According to Padre Samuel Fritz, in 1691 they inhabited twenty-three villages, situated exclusively on islands of the Rio Solimões, between 67 and 72 degrees longitude. The Tukuna called them a'/vane ("of water"; *awa*, the Omágua name for themselves).

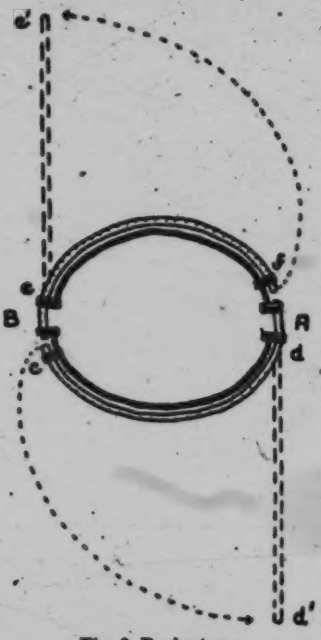

Fig. 9. Booby trap.

Myths of the culture hero brothers tell of the first appearance of the Omágua (p. 128). In a different way the same subject is referred to in the legend of mẽta'rũ and va"i"či'kį (p. 145). There is no report of a Tukuna attack on the Omágua islands, because in the old days Tukuna navigation was still very primitive. They limited themselves to defense when attacked in their igarapés, and to eventual pursuit of the enemy to the banks of the Solimões. Legends and tradition contain many references to these battles: witness the following.

The Tukuna descended the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and, arriving at the mouth, blew their horns. Then the Omágua came up the igarapé in their dugouts just as the Tukuna were gathered for a feast in a large maloca which used to be at dyumaritį', on the left bank of the igarapé, just above the mouth of the mai"a-tį. After capturing and killing the Indian who had gone to invite his comrades to the celebration on his return trip, they attacked the maloca where all were gathered. In the same hour, however, the Tukuna from the upper igarapé arrived to take part in the feast also and, seeing what was taking place, immediately fell upon the Omágua, killing them all. One of these, already wounded by a poisoned lance, still wished to steal one of the uaricána statues and dragged it to the steep bank. There his strength left him, and he, together with the

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648 173 726 statue, rolled over the edge and disappeared with it in the waters of the Igarapé. Even today the song of the drowned statue may be heard sometimes.

All the Tukuna now gathered together at dyumaritʼ, awaiting the Omágua. They came two days later in great numbers and attacked with arrows. The battle was hotly disputed, the warriors standing sometimes ankle deep in blood. The Tukuna killed many Omágua on the battlefield and killed others during the retreat; those who escaped foundered in the whirlpool at the mouth of Igarapé de São Jeronymo and were drowned.

At the battlefield the earth became spongy with the worms feeding on the bodies, and sank; [the depression] may still be seen there today. The worms were later transformed into little acari fish.

648 726 Another time, the Omágua assaulted a festive gathering of the Tukuna, this time far up the Igarapé de São Jeronymo in the vicinity of Igarapé dyuʼ/na. At the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo, the Tukuna had placed guards, who repelled the Omágua while these were fighting the crosscurrents at the mouth of the igarapé.

713 726 Once, the Tukuna set up an ingenious booby trap (fig. 9) at one of their own houses at which they expected an attack. Anticipating the arrival of the Omágua, they cut two assahy palm trees with thin and very elastic trunks, fifteen to twenty centimeters in diameter, so long that they stretched from one of the two doors of the house to the opposite one. On the outside of the house they tied one of the trunks (*c–d*) firmly at the posts of door A in a horizontal position a meter and a half above the ground; they tied the other trunk (*e–f*) at the posts of door B in the same way. They then bent trunk *c–d*, pressing it against the outer house wall, and held it at point *c*, beside door B, with a loop of cipó passed through the wall. In the same way they set trunk *e–f*, bending it and securing it at *f*. This completed, all shut themselves inside the house to await the arrival of the enemy.

Espying the Omáguas' approach through cracks in the house wall, they waited until the enemy were all inside the yard and surrounding the house, and then they cut the cipós simultaneously at *c* and *f*. Tied now only at one point, the elastic trunks, with a strong backlash, returned to their normal straight positions, *d–d'* and *e–e'*, knocking down and wounding many of the enemy.

727 Unlike the Omágua, the Tukuna never took prisoners or kept trophies from the enemy dead.

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291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of tururý inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of tururý or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
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More than among other tribes, *Tucuna* children receive corporal punishment, especially with the external application of nettle flowers that are grown for this purpose at the edge of the yard. They play with dolls carved of muirapiranga, figures of animals, little canoes, small bows and arrows, and buzz-disks of gourd shells.

Boys' puberty observances.—There is a tradition that in former times, young men were initiated when their voices changed, being secluded and then perhaps formally admitted to the secrets of the megaphone (tá/ki) through an application of snuff called ká/vi, which is still used occasionally. There are no vestiges of homosexuality, as claimed by Tessmann (1930, p. 563).

Girls' puberty rites.—At her first menstruation, a girl is secluded in the house loft. This is not so cruel as certain travelers (Bates, 1863, 2:406) proclaim. Every girl submits willingly, convinced that her peculiar condition requires it and that its omission would be dangerous, as she is surrounded by invisible "immortals" and demons, who seek contact with her and at times cause extraordinary supernatural experiences. Many stories told to a girl in seclusion illustrate this dangerous state.

The people hasten to prepare for the girl a circular seclusion room adjacent to the east or west wall of the house, according to her moiety. They decorate the walls with painted bands and lines, and figures of the sun, moon, morning star, and deer, the last a symbol of vigilance and not a "totem."

Preparations for the feast sometimes require months. They prepare roast meat and beverages and make the house ready. The girl's father is host, but her paternal uncle and his wife direct all ceremonies concerning her person, being wholly responsible for her. Friends and acquaintances receive two invitations to the feast; the second, which specifies the date, is issued to the sound of the bark trumpet, which is carried hidden in the canoe.

In the exterior portion of the house, corresponding to the girl's seclusion room, a long fence is made with straw walls to conceal the megaphone (tá/ki), its statues, and the bark trumpet which operate behind it each night of the feast and are removed before daybreak and hidden underwater in the creek. People are chosen and invited to operate these instruments by the head of the house when the time comes; there is no permanent assignment. Inside the fence of the megaphone, snuff (ká/vi) or tobacco powder is taken with several ingredients (but not parica). The snuff is kept in a snail shell and blown into the nose by means of an apparatus made of a tubular bone and two quills of royal sparrow hawk feathers, or by means of a simple taboca (bamboo) tube. Boys of 7 or older customarily are given snuff, after which they may see and touch the instruments within the fence, which are taboo to women and to boys who have not yet had it.

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
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however, that the idea of a spirit as a beneficent God or Creator had not entered the minds of these Indians. There is great similarity in all their ceremonies and mummeries, whether the object is a wedding, the celebration of the feast of fruits, the plucking of the hair from the heads of their children, or a holiday got up simply out of a love of dissipation. Some of the tribes on these occasions deck themselves with the bright-coloured feathers of parrots and macaws. The chief wears a head-dress or cap made by fixing the breast-feathers of the Toucan on a web of Bromelia twine, with erect tail plumes of macaws rising from the crown. The cinctures of the arms and legs are also then ornamented with bunches of feathers. Others wear masked dresses: these are long cloaks reaching below the knee, and made of the thick whitish-coloured inner bark of a tree, the fibres of which are interlaced in so regular a manner, that the material looks like artificial cloth. The cloak covers the head; two holes are cut out for the eyes, a large round piece of the cloth stretched on a rim of flexible wood is stitched on each side to represent ears, and the features are painted in exaggerated style with yellow, red, and black streaks. The dresses are sewn into the proper shapes with thread made of the inner bark of the Uaissíma tree. Sometimes grotesque head-dresses, representing monkeys' busts or heads of other animals, made by stretching cloth or skin over a basket-work frame, are worn at these holidays. The biggest and ugliest mask represents the Jurupari. In these festival habiliments the Tucúnas go through their monotonous see-saw and stamping dances, accompanied by singing and drumming, and keep up the sport often for three or four days and nights in succession, drinking enormous quantities of caysúma, smoking tobacco, and snuffing paricá powder.

I could not learn that there was any deep symbolical meaning in these masked dances, or that they commemorated any past event in the history of the tribe. Some of them seem vaguely intended as a propitiation of the Jurupari, but the masker who represents the demon sometimes gets drunk along with the rest, and is not treated with any reverence. From all I could make out, these Indians preserve no memory of events going beyond the times of their fathers or grandfathers. Almost every joyful event is made the occasion of a festival: weddings amongst the rest. A young man who wishes to wed a Tucúna girl has to demand her hand of her parents, who arrange the rest of the affair, and fix a day for the marriage ceremony. A wedding which took place in the Christmas week whilst I was at St. Paulo, was kept up with great spirit for three or four days, flagging during the heats of mid-day, but renewing itself with increased vigour every evening. During the whole time the bride, decked out with feather ornaments, was under the charge of the older squaws, whose business seemed to be sedulously to keep the bridegroom at a safe distance until the end of the dreary period of dancing and boosing. The Tucúnas have the singular custom, in common with the Collínas and Mauhés, of treating their young girls, on their showing the first signs of womanhood, as if they had committed some crime. They are sent up to the girao under the smoky and filthy roof, and kept there on very meagre diet, sometimes for a whole month. I heard of one poor girl dying under this treatment.